

Message Text

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ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 EB-07 COME-00

AGR-10 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /084 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/PAF:BBELL:STT

APPROVED BY ARA/PAF:BBELL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: XR, PFOR

SUBJECT: MOYERS' INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER

SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS INTERVIEWED LAST NIGHT ON PUBLIC
TELEVISION BY BILL MOYERS. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE PORTIONS
OF THE INTERVIEW WHICH REFERRED TO LATIN AMERICA:

QUOTE - MR. MOYERS: WE -- ALMOST VIRTUALLY ALONE AMONG
THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS -- HAVE NOT HELPED THE UNDER-
DEVELOPED WORLD WITH ITS MANUFACTURED GOODS ON OUR TARIFF
POLICY. A LOT OF THE FOOD THAT WE ARE GIVING RIGHT NOW IS
GOING INTO POLITICAL AREAS, STRATEGICAL AREAS, RATHER THAN
HUMANITARIAN AREAS. THE BRAZILIANS AND INDIANS SAY WE
ARE EXCLUDING THEM FROM THE DEFINITION OF "CONSUMER." AND
THE IMPRESSION YOU GET FROM TALKING TO REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE DEVELOPING WORLD IS THAT THEY REALLY DO NOT AGREE THAT
WE ARE VERY CONSCIOUS OF THEIR CONSIDERATION AND NEEDS.

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SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, I THINK QUITE HONESTLY THERE

IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT THEY SAY PUBLICLY AND WHAT THEY SAY PRIVATELY.

IT IS A FACT THAT IN MANY OF THE LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IT IS POLITICALLY NOT UNHELPFUL TO SEEM TO BE AT LEAST ALOOF FROM THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, AND TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT ONE IS NOT DOMINATED BY THIS

COLOSSUS. AND THEREFORE THE RHETORIC OF MANY OF THESE COUNTRIES IS MUCH MORE STRIDENT THAN THE REALITY OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY.

NOW, IT IS TRUE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DISILLUSIONED BY SOME OF THEIR EXPERIENCES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. AND INEVITABLY DURING A RECESSION IT IS DIFFICULT TO MOBILIZE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A VERY LARGE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM. AND THESE ARE OBSTACLES WITH WHICH WE CONTEND.

NOW, WITH RESPECT TO THE TARIFF PREFERENCES. MORE RESTRICTIONS WERE PUT ON THEM BY THE CONGRESS THAN WE THOUGHT WISE. AND SOME OF THE PENALTIES THAT WERE ATTACHED TO PARTICULAR GROUPINGS AFFECTED COUNTRIES LIKE ECUADOR, WHICH REALLY ARE MEMBERS OF THE OIL-PRODUCING CARTEL BY COURTESY ONLY, OR COUNTRIES LIKE VENEZUELA, WITH WHICH WE HAVE A LONG TRADITION OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE SOLIDARITY. AND WE HAVE REGRETTED THESE PARTICULAR LIMITATIONS.

IN ADDITION THERE HAVE BEEN RESTRICTIONS ON CERTAIN PRODUCTS ABOUT WHICH BRAZIL AND INDIA COMPLAIN THAT AFFECT THESE COUNTRIES UNFAVORABLY.

WE HAVE INDICATED THAT AFTER WE HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY IT, WE WOULD BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE CONGRESS THE SPECIAL INEQUIES THAT HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY THIS LEGISLATION.

ON THE OTHER HAND, I CANNOT ACCEPT YOUR STATEMENT THAT THIS LEGISLATION DOES NOT PERMIT ADDITIONAL ACCESS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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INDUSTRIAL GOODS.

FOR EXAMPLE, MEXICO, WHICH YESTERDAY POINTED OUT SOME OF THE INEQUITIES TO US, NEVERTHELESS BENEFITS TO THE EXTENT OF 350 MILLION DOLLARS OF ITS PRODUCTS IN THE UNITED STATES MARKET BY THE NEW TRADE ACT. AND I AM SURE A SIMILAR STUDY COULD BE MADE FOR BRAZIL AND INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

SO WHILE WE DON'T THINK THE TRADE ACT WENT AS FAR AS WE SHOULD HAVE WISHED, I THINK IT WENT GENERALLY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO WORK WITH CONGRESS TO IMPROVE IT.

BUT YOUR QUESTION SUGGESTS A MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM.

MANY OF THESE NEW COUNTRIES -- THIS DOESN'T APPLY TO THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES -- BUT MANY OF THE NEW COUNTRIES FORMED THEIR IDENTITY IN OPPOSITION TO THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, AND THEY ARE CAUGHT IN A DILEMMA. THEIR RHETORIC IS A RHETORIC OF CONFRONTATION. THE REALITY IS A REALITY OF INTERDEPENDENCE. AND WE HAVE SEEN IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND ELSEWHERE THAT THE RHETORIC DOESN'T ALWAYS MATCH THE NECESSITIES. AND ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS TO BRING THEM CLOSER TOGETHER.

MR. MOYER: YOU WROTE ONCE, "AN EXCESSIVELY PRAGMATIC POLICY WILL BE EMPTY OF VISION AND HUMANITY. AMERICA CAN- NOT BE TRUE TO ITSELF WITHOUT MORAL PURPOSE."

ONE OF THE CHIEF CRITICISMS OF YOUR TENURE AS SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS HAS BEEN THAT WE HAVE BEEN LONG ON EXPEDIENCY AND PRAGMATISM AND IT MAY HAVE HELPED US STRATEGICALLY, BUT WE HAVE BEEN SHORT OF HUMANITY -- THE INVASION OF CAMBODIA, THE BOMBING OF HANOI AT CHRISTMAS, THE TILTING IN FAVOR OF PAKISTAN, THE MAINTENANCE OF A CONSTANT LEVEL OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, OUR PREFERENCE FOR A CHANGE IN THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT. THESE ALL ADD UP, YOUR CRITICS SAY, TO AN EXCESSIVELY PRAGMATIC POLICY, DEVOID OF HUMANITY AND VISION.

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SECRETARY KISSINGER: ANY STATESMAN FACES THE PROBLEM OF RELATING MORALITY TO WHAT IS POSSIBLE. AS LONG AS THE UNITED STATES WAS ABSOLUTELY SECURE, BEHIND TWO GREAT OCEANS, IT COULD AFFORD THE LUXURY OF MORAL PRONOUNCEMENTS, DIVORCED FROM THE REALITY OF THE WORLD IN WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE TO MAKE THE DECISIONS, OR TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE DECISIONS, WHICH DETERMINE WHETHER YOU CAN IMPLEMENT THEM.

I STILL AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT THAT I MADE SOME YEARS AGO. A PURELY PRAGMATIC POLICY IS UNSUITED TO THE AMERICAN CHARACTER, AND IN ANY EVENT LEADS TO PARALYSIS.

AN EXCESSIVELY MORALISTIC POLICY WOULD BE-TOTALLY DEVOID OF CONTACTS WITH REALITY AND WOULD LEAD TO EMPTY

POSTURING.

IN FOREIGN POLICY, YOU ALWAYS FACE DIFFICULT CHOICES.
AND YOU ALWAYS FACE THE PROBLEM THAT WHEN YOU MAKE YOUR
DECISION, YOU DO NOT KNOW THE OUTCOME. SO YOUR MORAL
CONVICTIONS ARE NECESSARY TO GIVE YOU THE STRENGTH TO
MAKE THE DIFFICULT CHOICES WHEN YOU HAVE NO ASSURANCE OF
SUCCESS.

NOW, THE PARTICULAR EVENTS WHICH YOU MENTIONED, ONE COULD
GO INTO -- IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO DO JUSTICE TO IT IN
THE LIMITED TIME WE HAVE. SEVERAL OF THEM HAD TO DO WITH
THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM. AND THERE REALLY THE
CRITICISM IS BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANTED TO END IT MORE OR
LESS AT ANY PRICE, AND THOSE WHO BELIEVED THAT IT WAS
ESSENTIAL TO END IT IN A MANNER THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
DID NOT FEEL THAT ALL THESE EFFORTS HAD ONLY LED TO A
TURNING OVER BY THE UNITED STATES OF PEOPLE WHO HAD DE-
PENDENT ON IT TO OUTSIDE INVASION.

IT IS AN ISSUE THAT WE WILL NOT SETTLE IN THIS DEBATE.

BUT THIS WAS OUR JUDGMENT FROM WHICH THE VARIOUS MILITARY
MOVES FLOWED.

ON THE ISSUE OF HOW TO VINDICATE HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOREIGN
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COUNTRIES, I THINK WE HAVE NEVER DENIED THEIR IMPORTANCE.
WE HAVE, HOWEVER, ALWAYS CLAIMED THAT WE COULD ACHIEVE
OUR OBJECTIVES MORE EFFECTIVELY, QUIETLY, WITHOUT MAKING
IT A CONFRONTATION. THIS IS WHY WE NEVER MADE ANYTHING OF
THE FACT THAT BETWEEN 1969 AND 1973 WE INCREASED JEWISH
EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION FROM 400 TO 35,000, WITH-
OUT EVER ANNOUNCING IT. AND I BELIEVE WHEN ALL THE FACTS
ARE OUT, IT WILL TURN OUT THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF
THE RELEASES FROM CHILEAN PRISONS WERE NEGOTIATED BY THE
UNITED STATES WITHOUT EVER MAKING ANYTHING OF IT, NOT
BECAUSE WE DID NOT BELIEVE IN THESE HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT
BECAUSE WE BELIEVED IT WOULD FACILITATE THE OBJECTIVE
OF IMPLEMENTING THESE HUMAN RIGHTS IF WE DID NOT MAKE AN
ISSUE OF IT.

SO SOME OF IT CONCERNS METHODS TOWARDS AGREED OBJEC-
TIVES. UNQUOTE

THE FULL TEXT WILL BE POUCHED BY THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC
AFFAIRS. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TRADE LAW, PRESS CONFERENCES, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE011811
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BBELL:STT
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750019-0273
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750141/aaaabkbq.tel
Line Count: 221
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN ARA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MorefiRH
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2003 by SilvaL0>; APPROVED <25 NOV 2003 by MorefiRH>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MOYERS' INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS INTERVIEWED LAST NIGHT ON PUBLIC
TAGS: PFOR, XR, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (MOYERS, BILL)
To: ALL POSTS USCINCSO
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006